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not know the names of the clans. On a part of the Reindeer Koryak, as we shall see later on, no tribute has been levied as yet, and they have not been given any clan-name.

The number of Koryak, Reindeer as well as Maritime, may be gathered from old official data, from those of the 1897 census, and from data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself. The old official data — reprinted from year to year in the government reports, almost without change — relate to those groups only which were assessed for tribute, and the numbers there given are less than the actual numbers.

The statistics of the census of 1897 are more reliable.[1] This census was supposed to be taken on the same day over the entire empire; but in the sparsely settled districts of Siberia the enumerators spent several weeks covering each territory. Some of the remote places — for instance, the northern part of the Palpal, or the centre of the Parapol Dol — were never visited by enumerators, but they obtained their information second-hand. Nevertheless, the data of the census of 1897 are very nearly correct. The census bulletins of 1897 relating to northern Siberia have been worked up at the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg by S. K. Patkanov, the first editor of that Bureau; but the results have not been published as yet. Mr. Patkanov,[2] however, has published a brief summary, based on the census, of the statistical and geographical data of the palæasiatic tribes, among which are the Koryak. I shall quote further from these data under the name of Patkanov. Mr. Patkanov also had the kindness, at my request, to send me from his material more detailed statistical data on the Koryak, of which also I shall make use.

The data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself refer merely to those places which we visited personally, and will serve in verifying statistics relating to certain groups only.

We must distinguish the following groups of Reindeer Koryak.

Gishiga District. — 1. The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (Taigono'-talu, i. e., "the people of Taigonos"). They spend the winter seasons along the valleys of the rivers Topolovka (Maka'lʌ'nu-ve'yem[3]), Kilimadja (Kılĭ'-mačwon-ve'yem), Matuga (Ma'tukan-ve'yem), Chaibuga (Poye'm-ya'n-ve'yem), and Avekova (ıļʌ'taña-ve'yem[4]). Three or four families only roam in winter along the valley of the Gishiga River (Wuĭ'vo-ve'yem[5]). In summer they ascend the mountains where these rivers have their sources. For the purpose

[1] This census was the first general enumeration of the people of the Russian Empire, not for purposes of taxation, but for statistical purposes only.

[2] See Part I, list of authorities quoted, p. 10.

[3] "River of the poplar people," from ma'kan ("poplar"); the Russian word "topol" (тополь) also means "poplar." The banks of this river abound in poplar-groves.

[4] ıļʌ'taña means "eye-woman."

[5] Wu'ivo formerly meant a fortified settlement, later on it was applied to Russian fortresses and also to Russian houses. Wu'ivon is now the Koryak name of the town of Gishiginsk.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of fishing, and hunting sea-mammals, a few families only, or members of families, remain during summer, without reindeer, at the mouths of these rivers. Officially these Koryak are called the "Taigonos Clan" (Таигоносскій родъ).

According to old official statistics (a census taken in 1882 by the chief of the district), there were in this clan sixty-nine families (121 men and 130 women, making a total of 251 persons);[1] according to Patkanov (1897), the number of Taigonos Koryak was 381 persons (202 men, 179 women); while according to my own enumeration (1901), there were seventy-three families (168 men, 150 women, or 318 persons in all). The difference between Patkanov's figures and mine may be accounted for by the fact that, according to information gathered by myself, 97 of the Taigonos clan died of measles in 1900. Adding 97 to 318 would give 415; but at the time of my enumeration about 20 persons from other clans were included. The remaining difference may be ascribed to the natural increase from 1897 to 1900.

2. The three "clans," called by the Administration the First, Second, and Third Gishiga Clans (Первый, Второй, и Третій Гижигинскій родъ). Although they wander in different places, they keep within the limits of a certain area; namely, north of Gishiga and Penshina Bays, between the Penshina and Varkhalam Rivers, and partly on the Parapol tundra to the south of Penshina River. The families of these clans often intermingle; but, as a rule, the First Gishiga Clan wanders principally between the Varkhalam and Paren Rivers and their valleys; the Second, along the Tılqai and Mikina Rivers; and the Third, along the Oklan, a tributary of the Penshina River, and the tundra between the Penshina River and the village of Pustoretsk (Ewle'wun). During the winter some families of the First Gishiga Clan wander with the Tungus up the Varkhalam, Gishiga, and Paren Rivers, across the Stanovoi Ridge, and go as far as the Omolon and Korkodon, tributaries of the Kolyma River.

According to old official statistics, these clans consisted of 423 persons (152 of the First Clan, 167 of the Second, and 104 of the Third). Patkanov's figures show 531 persons (280 men and 251 women).[2] I succeeded in 1901 in enumerating the group of the Second Gishiga Clan only, which roamed along the Tılqai River, consisting of twelve families (or 63 persons) living in five tents. In these five tents 11 persons died of measles in 1900.

3. The Opuka Clan (Опукскій родъ), wandering in the northeastern part of the district, in the northern part of the Parapol tundra, and partly on the Palpal Ridge. According to the old figures there were 206 of them, while according to Patkanov there were 431 persons;[3] but it seems to me that this

[1] According to the census of 1850, the Taigonos clan consisted of 235 persons (104 men, 131 women).

[2] According to Mr. Patkanov's written information, there were in the First Gishiga Clan 115 persons (70 men, 45 women); in the Second, 279 persons (140 men, 139 women); in the Third, 137 persons (70 men, 67 women); but in Mr. Patkanov's published work (see p. 20) the total number for the three Gishiga Clans shows 590 persons.

[3] See Patkanov, p. 20. In his written information Mr. Patkanov gives the total number of this clan as 396 persons (222 men, 174 women).

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figure is below their actual number. On the Palpal Ridge the Reindeer Koryak move from place to place together with the Chukchee, and many of them do not pay any tribute.

4. The group of the Gishiga district, wandering chiefly upon the Parapol Dol (Парапольскій Долъ), between the rivers Talovka, Lesna, and Vivnik. This group is not recognized at all in the old official reports. According to information gathered by me at second-hand, there are over sixty families in it. Patkanov says (p. 20) that, with reference to 566 Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district, there is no indication in the census as to the clan to which they belong; but he does not say in what locality these 566 persons are entered. It is likely that these may be the Koryak of the group here mentioned.[1]

In this connection it should be mentioned, that, according to data gathered by me from the Gishiga archives, there was up to 1850 a Vetvei-Alutor clan of Reindeer Koryak assessed with fur-tribute (yasak); but since that year no tribute has been returned from them. In 1859, at the time of the tenth census "revision" (ревизская сказка), the Russian census taken for fiscal purposes, for purposes of assessment), no trace of this clan could be found, and at present it is not mentioned anywhere.[2] In the archives of 1873 I again came across an inquiry, by the provincial Administration, about this clan of the Reindeer Koryak. In reply to this inquiry, the chief of the Gishiga district reported that the Koryak of this clan had gone to the Reindeer Koryak, near Tighil, of the Petropavlovsk district. The chief of the Petropavlovsk district, in his turn, reported that the clan in question had moved back to the Gishiga district. Since then no mention of this clan has been made in the archives.

Besides the Reindeer Koryak proper of the Gishiga district, enumerated in the above four divisions, there are small detachments of Koryak, who, though wandering with reindeer, do not constitute independent reindeer groups. The families of these detachments are connected by family ties with the inhabitants of one or another of the villages of the Maritime Koryak near which they wander and with which they form an administrative unit. Frequently one part of the family lives in the settlement, while another part wanders with the herd; or a family wandering with reindeer will have in its herd reindeer belonging to relatives living permanently in a settlement. We find this class of Reindeer people in northern Kamchatka and along the shores of Bering Sea. Mr. Patkanov informs me, however, that, according to the census of 1897, 31 Reindeer people (16 men, 15 women) who wander in the valley

[1] According to written statements of Mr. Patkanov, the total number of Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district which do not belong to any officially recognized clan is 590 persons (324 men, 266 women). They wander in different localities of the northeastern part of the district.

[2] Mr. Patkanov mentions in his written information a Vetvei clan (Ветвейскій родъ) consisting of 21 persons (8 men, 13 women), but its wandering-place is designated as unknown.

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of Avekova River belong to the Maritime Koryak of the Second Paren clan, and 14 Reindeer people (9 men, 5 women) of Parapol Dol are of the First Kamenski clan. I myself have not heard that the Paren people have relatives among the Reindeer Koryak; but I know three Koryak in the Kamenskoye settlement, who, being traders, have purchased reindeer. However, they themselves do not take them out to pasture, but leave them in the care of permanent Reindeer Koryak.

The total number of Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district, united by ties of kinship with the villages of the Maritime Koryak, or originating from them, and considered as belonging to those settlements, consists, according to Patkanov's information, of 461 persons (236 men, 225 women). Detailed numbers of the groups of these Reindeer Koryak will be given in enumerating the villages and clans of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district.

Thus we see that the data relating to the numbers of the Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district are both incomplete and contradictory; but it may be said in general that 2389,[1] the total figure of Patkanov for the number of the Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district, is approximately correct.

Petropavlovsk District. — The Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district wander over the mountains, from the boundaries of the district, almost to the 55th degree north latitude. They may be divided into two groups.

1. The first group, consisting, according to official statistics, of two clans: the First Nomadic Clan (Первый кочевой родъ) of 272 persons; the Second Nomadic Clan (Второй кочевой родъ) of 284 persons. This makes a total of 556 persons. According to Patkanov, the first clan consists of 444 persons, and the second of 312 persons, or 756 persons all together.

2. The second group, to which belong 528 Reindeer Koryak enumerated in the census of 1897. These include, according to Patkanov,[2] Reindeer people belonging to the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, and Reindeer Koryak proper who moved thither from the Gishiga district. No detailed information as to the respective numbers of each separate group is given, but it is pointed out that the latter are the more numerous.

In all probability, the Reindeer Koryak proper, or a part of them, who had wandered thither from the Gishiga district, constitute the clan of the Gishiga district, which, as we saw, seems to have disappeared in 1850. As to the Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district classed by the Administration as belonging to the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, we find, according to Mr. Bogoras, that there are 61 nomad Koryak belonging to the Lesnovskoye settlement. The total number of Reindeer Koryak in the Petropavlovsk district is, according to the last census, 1284 persons.[3]

[1] See Patkanov, p. 17. [2] See Patkanov, p. 20. [3] See Patkanov, p. 18.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Anadyr and Okhotsk Districts. — According to the last census, there were found in the Anadyr district five tents of Reindeer Koryak, or 75 persons (33 men, 42 women), wandering, together with the Chukchee, in the southern part of the Anadyr district, on the northern slope of the Palpal Ridge. In the Okhotsk district 13 persons were found, apparently a camp of Koryak wandering together with the Tungus.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. *Okhotsk District.* — In the Okhotsk district, Maritime Koryak are found in two settlements only, — in the villages of Yamsk and Tumansk. They are Christians, and have become Russianized. They have forgotten the Koryak language, and speak Russian as well as Tungus. Physically they represent a blood mixture of Russians, Tungus, and Yakut. According to official data there are 205 Koryak in the village of Yamsk, and 26 Koryak in the village of Tumansk, or 66 per cent of the total number of inhabitants of those two villages. All together, there are 231 Maritime Koryak in the Okhotsk district.

Gishiga District. — The settlements of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district are situated along the shores of the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. I begin with the villages on the Okhotsk Sea.

1. The settlement Nayakhan (Koryak E'ĭgıval, "West") is at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, in Gishiga Bay. Officially the clan is called the "Germanda Clan" (Германдейскій родъ), from the Germanda River (Koryak Lıgı'čmanı[1]), on the banks of which the Koryak used to live. These Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, have become Russianized. They are of the Orthodox faith, and some of them are related to Russians. Although the Koryak language is still in use, it is spoken imperfectly, and not by all. Like the Koryak of the Okhotsk district, they have formed a peculiar dialect of the Russian language. They also speak the Tungus language, as they often come in contact with the Tungus, who in summer come to the Nayakhan settlement to attend the fair. The Nayakhan Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, live in log-cabins built after the Russian fashion. Their summer settlement is at the very mouth of the river; in winter they locate about four miles up the river.

The statistics of 1850 show that in the Germanda Clan there were twenty families, or 125 persons (65 men, 60 women); according to Patkanov (1897), there were only 42 persons (27 men, 15 women); while my figures (1901) show that there were eight families, or 35 persons (21 men, 14 women). Apparently the clan is becoming extinct. Nayakhan is at present the only Koryak settlement in Gishiga Bay.[2]

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[1] From Lı'gun, "stone-birch." Birch-trees, apparently, are found along the banks of this river.

[2] Until recently there was another small settlement of Maritime Koryak near the mouth of the Avekova River, but no permanent houses are to be found there any longer. In summer some families of Reindeer Koryak and Tungus fish there. In the town of Gishiginsk proper there were, according to the 1897 census, 17 Koryak.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

time when, in wandering from one place to another, they had to carry their possessions, like the American Indians, on their own persons.

The fact that, of the three related tribes, — the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal, — the last-mentioned has not developed reindeer-breeding, shows to what extent expeditions into the interior were responsible for the domestication of the reindeer. The land of the Kamchadal consists of a rather narrow peninsula with a long stretch of coast-line, adapted for maritime and river settlements. Hunting-expeditions in search of wild reindeer and mountain-sheep in the mountains of the central Kamchatka range did not take the hunters far away from their settlements. Besides, fish are more abundant in the Kamchatka rivers than in those of the Koryak country, and the food-supply obtained from the sea by the Kamchadal was more regular than that of their northern neighbors. In my opinion, this accounts for the fact that we find no domesticated reindeer among the Kamchadal.

In the Koryak territory the extent of coast-line, in comparison with that of the interior country, is still considerable; but among the Chukchee the interior is extensive as compared to the length of coast-line. Hence I believe the relative as well as the absolute number of Reindeer people is greater among the Chukchee than among the Koryak. According to the census of 1897,[1] 75.6 per cent (9,208 persons) of the total number of Chukchee are reindeer-breeders; while the reindeer-breeders constitute only about 50 per cent of the Koryak (3,748 persons). Bogoras received the impression that in the last few decades reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee has been on the increase.[2] This opinion is supported, among others, by the fact that, during the sixties of the last century, part of the Chukchee reindeer-breeders who before had been wandering in the territory east of the Kolyma River asked permission of the Russian Government to pass over to the western side. They felt crowded in the east. In a few years they spread in the west from the Kolyma to the Indighirka River.

The same cannot be said of the Koryak. Their reindeer-breeding industry, we have reason to suppose, has increased in the north of the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Parapol Dol. Some groups of the Reindeer Koryak, such as the Koryak wandering along the rivers Oklan and Tılqai, who were formerly wealthy reindeer-breeders, have now become impoverished; while part of the Koryak on the rivers Opuka and Khatırka, who were formerly reindeer-breeders, are now settled. It is true that we also see the reverse process. Some groups of sedentary Koryak have taken to wandering with their reindeer; but that is true only of those Koryak groups[3] which consist of mixed families, nomads and settlers, and which do not possess large herds. The owners of large herds, numbering, perhaps, thousands of heads,

[1] See Patkanov, pp. 19, 27.
[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 72.
[3] See p. 434.

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Chukchee. Although some samples of Indian art among the collections of the Amerian Museum of Natural History are proof of the ability of Indian artists to give their carvings quite a realistic and artistic expression of animal forms,[1] yet the general tendency of the Indian art of carving is purely symbolic, aiming principally at bringing out the most characteristic parts of the body of the animal at the expense of its other parts, and of a realistic presentation of the animal as a whole.

The carvings of the western neighbors of the Koryak, the Tungus and the Yakut, can in no wise be compared with their own. The former lack all artistic merit. Taking as a fair sample the collection of Yakut carvings obtained by me, consisting of figures of animals or human beings made from mammoth-tusks, we find it to consist of rigid figures having only an outward resemblance to men and animals. The artist was unable to put life and motion into them. It is seldom that any of the Yakut can carve even such crude figures. Near Yakutsk, for instance, two or three Yakut are known to turn out open-work from mammoth-ivory. They also turn out rigid realistic carvings of the kind I am describing. They make combs and boxes from mammoth-ivory, ornamented with open-work carving. Yet these articles are rather products of mechanical art, made to meet the demand of the Russians, than works of art for art's sake.

The art of the Yakut, principally their decorative art, is of purely Central Asiatic, Chinese, or Russian origin, and consists of curves, spirals, and conventionalized animals and plants. Only the enormous wooden kumiss goblets and cups, from which the Yakut drink, and make sacrificial libations during the religious kumiss festivals, are supplied with primitive technical ornamentation, judging by the Yakut names of the carved figures.[2]

When we speak of Koryak or Chukchee carvings, it should be added that we refer to the Maritime people only. The Reindeer Koryak, with very few exceptions, have not developed that art. This is not due to the fact that the reindeer-breeders have no æsthetic tastes, but to their lack of the necessary leisure. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, spend the winter almost idly in a more or less warm house, and have sufficient time to indulge in the pleasure derived from the art of carving. The same reason may be advanced to explain why only the men engage in carving: the women are too busy with the household, and apply their æsthetic taste to the ornamentation of their dresses.

It is worth noting, that, among the Koryak carvings, we seldom find figures of reindeer, and the few we do find are poorly executed. The conclusion might be drawn from this, that fondness for carving developed among

[1] See Boas, Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, p. 125).

[2] See Jochelson, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (Boas Anniversary Volume, New-York, Stechert, 1906, pp. 257–271).

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175 The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the
648 Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamchatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697-1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

[433] On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the
439 latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between
175 the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

175 During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between
177 the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, ready-made twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on.

[342] Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile goods. The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the [184] [55] southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

Economy

184 433 In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

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sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

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In summer, during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June.

The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2 usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber, skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzle," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy [sailboats]. The "muzzles" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished

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with large nets sewn together from the smaller ones they owned individually.

Other methods of fishing included fishing with the aid of an iron hook (marik) and "dipper" nets. The fisherman stood up to his knees in water, holding in his hands an implement that looked like a large sack-net on a long pole. Sighting a fish, he quickly directed the net towards it, scooping it up and throwing it out on the gravel shore. This method was used in the beginning of the fish-run, before the cooperative set to work.

Most of the catch went into the making of yukola. The fish were disemboweled and hung to dry on special racks. The yukola (fish dried in the sun and the wind) was put away in storehouses—tents on high piles, covered with dry grass. Yukola was usually made by women, while fishing was done chiefly by men. The yukola was the principal food of the people all year; it was also used as feed for the dogs, in addition to "pickled fish"—freshly caught fish piled into a pit, covered with earth, and left to ferment until needed.

An important auxiliary occupation among both sedentary and nomad Koryaks was hunting, which was done solely by men. The fur animals hunted were fox, wolverine, otter, hare and ermine.

Fur-animal hunting was most important among the Palantsy, who lived in a region abounding in Kamchatka sable. These were trapped in nets. Other animals were hunted with guns. Foxes and smaller animals—yevrazhka hamster and ermine—were caught in springtraps. The latter two were usually hunted by adolescent boys. Hares and partridges were caught with a noose. In early spring, many hunters took meat animals—bears, Siberian marmot, wild reindeer and mountain sheep. Tundra animals were usually hunted without the aid of hunting dogs, which were owned by relatively few hunters.

An important role in Koryak economy was taken by the gathering of wild plants. The gathering of edible roots, grasses and berries was women's work. Roots were obtained chiefly from mouse-nests. Searching out a mouse-nest, the woman dug it up with a special wooden hoe and took from it the store of edible roots prepared by the mice. The berries gathered were blueberry, cloudberry and crowberry.

Grass was used to make inner lining for boots, and was also woven into mats, baskets, bags and purses. The weaving of variously shaped baskets, from those in the shape of bowls and trays down to small oval boxes with lids, and also bags of various shapes and sizes was especially developed among the Karagin and Alyutor women.

The men widely engaged in carving bone and the horns of wild sheep.

One of the villages of the northern coastal Koryaks—the village of Paren' on Taygonos Peninsula, was long known for blacksmithery. The Paren' blacksmiths reforged accidentally gotten pieces of iron into knives famed throughout the Koryak territory and beyond it. Even in the early years of the current century, the local Koryak population preferred them to imported Russian and American knives.

Housing

The dwelling of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks (yaranga) was a tent, similar to the Chukchi yaranga (called yayan'a in the Chavchuven dialect, and raran'a in the Alyutor dialect). Cylindrical at the base and conical at the top, it had a framework of poles and was covered with reindeer skins, with the fur outside. The pelts to be used for covering the yaranga were scraped a little; some of the flesh side was peeled off, then it was kneaded and smoked to make it waterproof. For summer dwellings, the hair was removed, or else worn, old coverings were used.

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Drying skins.

342 removed, or else worn, old coverings were used. The main skeleton of the yaranga consisted of three thick poles, 3–4 meters long and inserted so as to form a large tripod. In a circle around them were set shorter vertical poles (1.5 to 2 m long) at a distance of one or two meters. These were connected at the top with horizontal beams, from which more poles ran to the top of the tripod. This frame was then covered with pelts. Light penetrated [394] into the dwelling through the smoke-opening above and through the entrance, when the skin serving as a door was thrown back.

Inside the yaranga, 3–4 canopies were attached to the horizontal beams. These canopies, made of reindeer skins, were occupied by separate families. [394] A canopy formed an enclosure of skins and was lighted by a lamp fueled with reindeer or seal fat. Inside the canopy, it was very warm, and during the day the front part was usually raised and left open.

• [184] Among the Koryaks who nomadized in southern Kamchatka, yarangas usually had from 3 to 6 canopies, which were high enough to stand in without touching the ceiling. The canopies were very often cleaned and beaten out. Yarangas were built by women, and their size depended on the wealth of the inhabitants.

Most of the coastal Koryaks lived in semidugouts. The base of such a dwelling consisted of a large pit, 1–1.5 meters deep. The walls of the pit were reinforced with a paling of vertical logs, which formed an octagon. Each corner of the octagon was joined on the top, by means of a beam, with the tops of four main posts set in the center of the pit. On these beams were laid flat planks, forming the roof. The frame was covered with sod. At one side of the semidugout was a corridor, 2–3 meters long, with small doors at either end; this served as the summer entrance (or, to be more precise, [354] the spring and autumn entrance). Overhead, in the center of the roof, was a [417] square opening (0.5 × 0.5 m), which was at the same time a smoke vent, a window, and a winter entrance. Instead of a ladder, the Koryaks used a thick log, grooved to form steps. Outside on the roof, around the entrance (smoke vent), they built a funnel of poles (on the coast of Penzhina Bay), or 35 of woven twigs (on the eastern coast), to protect the entrance from snowdrifts. The funnel was supported by props. Inside the dwelling, low benches were built along three of the walls. These were covered with skins, and over them were hung sleeping canopies. A hearth was constructed at the wall on which the corridor opened. In winter, the corridor served as a storage room and a ventilator flue: there was a vent in its ceiling, and this was opened 342 when a fire was going in the hearth. A semidugout usually housed several 592 (2, 3 or more) related families (much like the reindeer-breeders' yaranga). [177] Some of them held as many as 30–40 inhabitants. When spring came, the Koryaks moved to tall huts, set on stilts. Later they began to use fabric tents.

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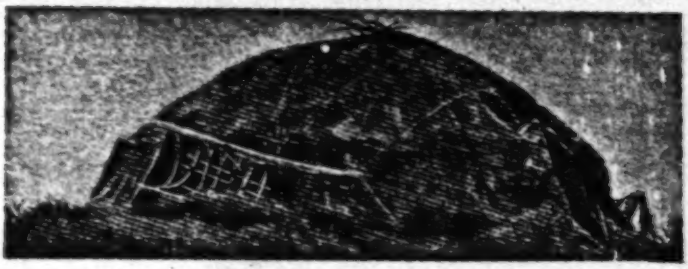

Reindeer-breeders' dwelling.

361 [172] fishing, or at river deltas. Kerek villages were small, consisting of only one or two dwellings. In the past, however, as seen from the ruins, they consisted of 10 to 15 dwellings.

179 342 Russian influence led to the appearance in the villages of the sedentary Koryaks of wooden frame houses as long ago as the middle of the last century.

Means of Transportation

492 493 [184] [171] The nomad Koryaks traveled by reindeer, the sedentary ones by dog-transport. The reindeer were harnessed to the sled; the Koryaks did not know of riding on reindeer. The reindeer sleds were similar to the Chukchi sled in construction. The light ones were arch-staved, with bent runners and a frame for sitting. The freight sleds were built in the same fashion, but more massively. Depending on the purpose of the freight-hauling sled, it was either surmounted by a hood (as in the sleds used for transporting children), or simply by a platform on poles (for carrying loads). There was also a special sled for carrying the frame of the dwelling, and so forth.

The light traveling sleds were usually harnessed to two reindeer; the freight-hauling sled was pulled by one reindeer. The reindeer were harnessed, not in front of the traveling sled, but on the left, so that the driver sitting in the sled could see everything ahead of him. When going downhill,

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Dwelling of coastal Koryaks.

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Summer village.

the reindeer remained slightly behind the driver on the left, restraining the sled from slipping down too fast. The reindeer were managed with the help of reins and a whip with bone tips.

The coastal Koryaks and the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy kept sled dogs. A full team usually consisted of 10 to 12 animals. For dog-travel, the Koryaks used the four-staved sled, common throughout Eastern Siberia. It was 2-2.5 m long, and 0.5 m wide. Its parts were fastened with leather strips and sharpened pegs inserted into holes, made especially to receive them. The dogs were harnessed tandem, in pairs. They were directed by voice, and braked with the aid of a staff (about one meter long) with an iron tip. The standard load per sled was 150-160 kg in addition to the weight of the driver (kayur).

The Koryaks learned horse-breeding from the Russians. Sedentary Koryaks (Palantsy, Karagintsy and southern Alyutortsy) kept horses, but they were used only in summer, as pack animals. In winter, they were left to their own devices, foraging for green fodder and often perishing of starvation, blizzards, frosts and wolves. Often the horses became so wild that their owner found it easier to walk dozens of miles with heavy loads rather than try to capture the horse.

For water transportation, the Koryaks used skin boats (baydars and kayaks). The Koryak baydar was similar to the Chukchi, but was considerably shorter and wider; its prow and stern were rounded. It was used by the Koryaks chiefly for hunting and fishing.

During the summertime, river transportation was by bat—boats hollowed out of thick tree trunks. They are extremely unstable in the water and require great skill of the helmsman, who steer with a long pole. Despite their untrustworthiness, these boats were also used by the Koryaks on the sea. In such cases, they were joined: two boats were linked with thick crossbars, leaving a space between them which was approximately equal to the width of one boat. Sometimes

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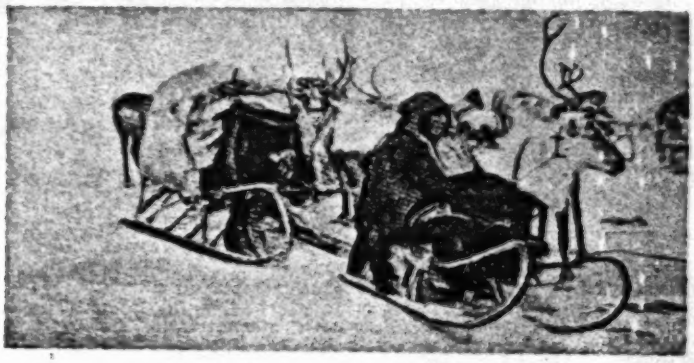

Light traveling sled and sled for transporting children.

501 boards were laid on top of the crossbars, and then the result resembled a raft.

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237 ## Clothing

The Koryak dress is most similar to that of the Chukchi. All Koryaks used the skins of young reindeer for both summer and winter clothing. Other skins (dogs, foxes, wolves and wolverines) were used only to trim the upper clothing, and to make hats and mittens.

The basic clothing of men consisted of an almost knee-length fur shirt without a lengthwise opening and with wide sleeves; this was worn with fur trousers and footwear. The shirt was made with a cowl and a small breast-piece, or without a cowl, but with a wide collar, edged with a seam. A cord was pulled through the seam, drawing the shirt together at the neck. The collar was usually trimmed with dog fur; black fur was considered the most beautiful.

Travel garb was cut in the same fashion, but longer. It consisted of two separate fur shirts, of which one was worn with the fur inside, and the other, with the fur outside. It was usually made with a cowl and a small breastpiece.

• [184] [179] The clothing was usually worn directly on the body; the coastal Koryaks were the only ones to wear it frequently over fabric shirts, acquired from the local Russians.

Trousers were sewn of reindeer skins. Footwear was made of suede.

Women's winter dress was a wide fur overall with sleeves. The trousers were tucked into the boots below the knee. Very often they were made of vertical strips of white and dark fur. Above the overall, the women usually wore a fur shirt. It was of the same cut as the men's shirts, but decorated with tassels and embroidery.

A characteristic feature of Koryak winter dress (men's and women's), which distinguished it from the Chukchi dress, was the patterned strip at the hem—the opuvan. This was usually made of reindeer fur, but of a different color from the rest of the garment; sometimes it was decorated with mosaic designs.

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seldom that one could see trousers or footwear of sealskin. Eighteenth-century sources also state that "walking" Koryaks wore clothing of bird-skins. We know nothing of the shape of such dress. The ethnographic literature of the 19th century does not mention it.

Man's traveling costume.

Koryak burial clothes (a fur shirt, trousers and boots) were quite distinct. They were made of the skins of white deer. The knee-length fur shirt ended in the back with an elongation (a "tail"). The burial clothes were richly adorned with tassels, fringes and pieces of dog fur. The hem of the shirt was decorated with a strip of geometric embroidery and an edging of wolverine fur.

Food

The basic diet of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks consisted of reindeer meat, usually boiled. Bone marrow, kidneys, gristle and leg tendons were also eaten raw. In winter, pounded and crushed frozen meat was eaten. The reindeer-breeders also obtained meat and fat of sea animals from coastal Koryaks by barter. Fish was used in small quantities—boiled in summer, and yukola in winter. The yukola was prepared in the summer or obtained from the coastal Koryaks.

The diet of the various sedentary groups depended on the character of their economic activities. The basic food was fish: boiled in summer, and in the form of yukola or fermented in winter. The upper part of the fish-head (brain, gristle, eyes) was eaten raw and considered a delicacy. Alyutortsy considered the heads of "sour" fish a great delicacy. Southern Koryaks, who were most exposed to Russian influence, boiled fish with cereals, mainly with rice. The meat and fat of sea animals (seal and occasionally white whale) were the favorite food of the coastal Koryaks.

All Koryaks used plant food in large quantities. Lily-root, sedge, wild sorrel and willow-herb were used as seasonings with fish and meat. Crowberry and blueberry were used in making hash (tolkusha)—a dish of grated reindeer or seal meat and fat with an admixture of edible roots and berries. The thick porridge prepared in this manner was a favorite food. Cloudberry and blueberry were eaten raw; the latter was also used in making an intoxicating drink.

Among imported products, the Koryaks used tea and sugar. The use of flour, of which they made flatcakes, was very limited. Baked bread and zwieback were known only to the sedentary southern Koryaks, who came into close contact with Russians. Widely used was leaf tobacco, which was smoked, but more often kept in the mouth, between the teeth and cheek. All sources, from the very earliest, speak of the use of fly-agaric by the Koryaks as a stimulant.

Social Relations and Religious Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, private ownership of the means of production predominated among the Koryaks. In the fields of production and distribution, however, there were numerous survivals of primitive-communal relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks.

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relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks. Thus, related families of Alyutortsy combined in summertime for common fishing. The catch was divided equally among them. Their sea hunting was also collective. From seven to eight persons went out to hunt together. On returning to the village, they divided the meat and fat of the seals killed during the hunt in equal shares among all the residents of the village; only the skin of the bearded or common seal went to the man who killed it. Kamentsy also shared equally the meat and fat of the seal they hunted in common, but sometimes the owner of the boat took a larger share.

The reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy also combined into 4-6 kindred families, which nomadized and herded their deer in common. These were productive associations of a temporary nature, similar to the temporary associations of fishermen and sea hunters.

According to 18th-19th-century data, the coastal Koryak family was already economically self-sufficient at that time. Individual families owned boats, nets, and traps, which they were free to use at their own discretion, down to selling them to other families. But there were also cases where nets belonged collectively to related families.

Even by the time of the Revolution, social inequality was not sharply expressed among the coastal Koryaks. They lived predominantly in a subsistence, consumption economy, with fur as the only commodity for sale.

The situation among the Chavchuvens was quite different. Even in the early part of the 18th century, Krasheninnikov wrote about the wealth of individual reindeer-breeders. Thus, already there was sharp property differentiation among the reindeer-breeders at that time. The process of stratification became still more intensified in the 19th century in connection with the development of trade.

At the time of the Revolution, there were among the reindeer-breeders men of great wealth, who owned herds of thousands of reindeer. On the other hand, there were householders owning only 10-15 reindeer and therefore compelled to work for the rich as herdsmen. Very often, distant relatives of the owners also became herdsmen; in such cases, family relations served as a cover for the usual exploitation.

In exchange for his hard labor in tending the reindeer, the herdsman received from his master only meat for his food and skins for his clothing, with the quantity of the compensation dependent entirely on the will of the master. The encampment of the rich Koryak usually included several families of herdsmen entirely dependent on their master economically and subject to his will in everything. The herdsmen could not kill a reindeer for food without the master's permission, and therefore often went hungry. In addition to tending reindeer, they performed a variety of other tasks: prepared firewood, brought water, hunted fur animals. The rich reindeer-breeder disposed of the labor of the herdsman's family as well. The herdsman's wife and daughters processed the reindeer skins for the master, made thread of reindeer sinew, sewed clothing and boots of reindeer-skins, etc. It was difficult for a herdsman to leave his master. Although custom permitted the changing of masters (in the fall, when the season began), in reality this was difficult to accomplish. The chief obstacle was the "debts" which the herdsman had managed to incur with his master: during the year he obtained from the latter small quantities of tea, sugar, flour, cartridges, etc. The master was not bound to provide imported goods; he merely had to "feed" his herdsmen. For a year's work, the herdsman received a female reindeer. As a rule, each herdsman owned 5-6, and only occasionally 10 or more, reindeer, earned by several years of hard labor. Naturally, with such a small number of reindeer it was impossible to live independently.

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

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Preparations for burning a corpse.

pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring kil'vey–the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.

The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most

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of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters.

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'").

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish.

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few.

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator.

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women.

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins.

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares,